L. Karsten--1-2
116, 161

(1926-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Since some of the regions inhabited by the [2] Jibaros are geographically unexplored and the different tribes live very scattered, their total number is difficult to estimate. In our days they may well number 10 to 15 thousand souls. We know however that the Jibaros were formerly far more numerous than they are at present and that they are rapidly diminishing owing to contact with the whites and still more owing to the wars of extermination which the different tribes are constantly waging upon each other."

I: Karsten--79-80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171, 361, 161 (1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

1: Karsten--82 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
161 (1928-29)

"The total number of the Aguarunas is difficult to establish; K.G. Grubb states that estimates of their number vary from 2,000 to 7,000. The former number probably comes nearer the truth than the latter, at any rate now. Like other savage Indians the Aguarunas have in recent years greatly declined in numbers owing to disease. Mr. Grubb mentions that about 1925 fifty per cent of those around the Pongo de Manseriche were said to have died in an influenza epidemic. (1)"

"1. Grubb, Amazon and Andes, pp. 135, 140."

2: Stirling--28 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161

"In the year 1580, wishing to have an exact account of the encomiendas under his charge, Juan de Salinas dispatched agents to the different cities which he had founded in the territories of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros of which he was governor, in order that they might make an accurate census of the native Indians in these regions. The census takers were apparently more than a year in completing their work and returning their reports to Valladolid, which at that time was the 'capital' of the territories. During this period Juan de Salinas died and was succeeded by Gaspar de Salinas. The latter being absent at the time, Capt. Juan Aldrete, acting in his place, ordered the scribe Joan Pizarro to assemble the material of this census and to include with it a brief description of the environs of each city taken from the reports of Juan de Salinas himself. This census bears every evidence of having been carefully made and gives us an excellent idea of the aboriginal population in the Jivaro territory in the sixteenth century just before the breakdown of the encomienda. Because of its unique interest, the report is here translated in its complete form, although the sections relating to the cities of Loyola and Valladolid are not included in Jivaro territory."

"ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YAHUARZONGO AND PACAMURUS (53)

In the city of Valladolid, where this government of Yahuarzongo and Pacamuros is located, December 1, 1582, Capt. Juan Alfrete, governor of said territory, because of the absence of Gov. Gaspar de Salinas de Loyola, proprietor of said government, by order of the most powerful President and Judges of the [29] Royal Audiencia of Quito, commands me, the present scrivener, to make an account and census of the Indians and impressions of the things that are within the territories of the cities that are established in the said government surveyed by Don Juan de Salinas (so be his glory), whose memoranda and account of the character of the cities that are populated in said government are the following:

THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE LAS MONTAÑAS

The city of Santiago de las Montañas of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory). He commissioned for said visit Captain Joan de Rada Medrano and Pedro de Lasarte, who visited the scattered Indians in the territory of said city and it appears, according to their examination, the number of Indian men and women are as follows:

First, in the encomienda of Captain Francisco Peres de Vivero, which includes the towns of Yangorasa and Yatanbisas [sic] and Ranaconco and Anloas, 1,645 Indian men and women, children and adults, of which 951 are males and the rest females.

"53. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. 33-45."

In the encomienda of Captain Hernando de Orozco, adjoining said city, which includes the towns of Yranaones [sic] and Guatuzas and Andoas, 1,082 Indian men and women, adults and children, of which 536 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Hinojosa, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Cama, Jumbare and Tayones and Andoas, 916 Indian men and women, of which 496 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Francisco Briceño, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Yaguiza and Curiza, 1, 016 Indian men and women, of which 588 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Bernardo de Loyola, including the towns of Yanones and Andoas, 615 Indian men and women, of which 380 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Ortega, inhabitant of said city, including the town Yranaones, 360 Indian men and women, of which 220 are males.

In the encomienda of Rodrigo de Solis, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Caciruma and Chuguaca, 640 men and women, of which 335 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cornejo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Pinchonama, 188 Indian men and women, of which 102 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Acarrero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Moronaza, 339 Indian men and women, of which 188 are males.

In the encomienca of Francisco de Herrera, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Curaguana, 308 Indian men and women, of which 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Bautista, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Comigarapa, 212 Indian men and women, of which 146 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Medina, in the town of Civiracocas, 90 Indian men and women, of which 36 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Cardela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbasa, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males.

In the encomienda of Simon de Carvajal, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cuyumbasa, 543 Indian men and women, of whom 304 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego Vela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Bobonasa, 323 Indian men and women, of whom 160 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Tapia, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbasa, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males. [30]

In the encomienda of the late Alonso Perez de Toro and his wife who owns them, including the town of Marasacocas, 216 Indian men and women, of whom 145 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Zamorano, including the town of Patocurapa, 280 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The Indians who are under the head of Governor Don Gaspar in the districts of said city in the towns of Cenisa and Cangaza number 661 Indian men and women, of whom 357 are males.

Total, 10,159; men, 5,759. • • •

This city of Santiago has jurisdiction over more districts and Indians than these, but, because they were down the river and not all pacified, it was not possible to visit them.

His lordship, Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory), populated this city in 1558 on Santiago day, which was when he discovered the said territory. The city was settled on the Marañon River, by which river his lordship embarked in canoes for the exploration he made of said river. It was located in a place seven leagues before arriving at the Pongo, which is a pass and boundary made by the sierras and mountains, because from it, down to the Mar del Norte, all is level plain. The natives make use of canoes by means of which they travel on the rivers that are within the territory of this city. There are many of these in proportion to the population and with these canoes they come to the aforementioned city. The land is mountainous and very hot; they do not have herds of llamas and therefore they dress in cotton, of which much grows in said land. Formerly they went about generally unclothed, but now all the men, women and children usually are well clothed, because of this training having come to them. The rivers contain a great quantity of very large fish; even porpoises go up to the aforementioned city from the sea. There is plenty of food, maiz, and roots, and many different kinds of good fruits, and much hunting in the mountains, which are not very rough, such as wild hogs, deer, tapir, and many other game animals, which said Indians kill easily with bows and arrows. There are many very beautiful birds, pauxies and piures (piuriés) and big

partridges, and many other birds that the Indians domesticate in their houses. There are mines of rock salt and large springs of salty water. They trade this with the Indians on the river below, where salt is not found. They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief, under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died. They used to suffer much harm before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them from all the neighboring Indians, because of being very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes, which often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they traveled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains. They had neither rites or ceremonies, but only to be born and to die; and thus they entered the evangelic faith without difficulty, and all in general know prayers and are baptized and receive and ask for the sacraments; for which purpose the newcomers have formed towns and put them in order and neatness so that each town has its church and ornaments and its cabildos and their alcaldes and magistrates, by whom the Indians who commit crimes are taken and brought to justice in said city; and they decide civil cases with all fairness. There are in the territory of this city four clergymen who preach and administer the holy sacrament, each one in accordance with his stipend and salary, which is about 500 pesos of silver for each clergyman

without his altar fee and procuraciones. They did not have to pay taxes [31] only the things that they took from the natives' lands being useful, and thus they have estimated that there is a certain quantity of food and from each six Indian eggs of a certain age, they took one so that he might take out gold seven months of the year, whom they call curicamayos; and those who are thus collected together are called cuadrillas, in accordance with the number of Indians that each encomendero has. Some have 20 curicamayos and others 50 or 60 more or less, according to the number; the encomenderos give them for each period or seven months, two vestures, which consist of two mantas and two shirts and the food, salt, meat, maiz, and beans necessary, and they keep them together in their houses with all kindness, and the other five months of each year, they live in their own houses and on their own territory; the curicamayos must be from 14 to 25 years of age, because the others do not travel in search of gold, which gold is taken out of the Congasa and Iranbisa Rivers in the territories of said city, by which rivers all the natives go to take it out and they carry all their food from their own towns and come up to the neighborhood of said mines by water and canoes and thus do not burden themselves.

They take out from said rivers each year 20 to 25 thousand pesos. They wash the river bed and the flats. It is 23 carat and grain gold. The Spaniards have no other trade or contracts with the natives outside of said city and said mines, where the merchandise is sold publicly.

The said city obtained Castillian things through the city of Jaen, which came up to

said city in canoes and by beasts of burden from the city of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba, and they came by land; and from the cities of Cuenca and Loxa came many ordinary Indian natives of the cities of Cuenca and Loxa to said mines with their trade goods looking for barter.

They know that they should respect justice and obey calls and commands, and they come to complain freely of any grievance against their encomenderos and others, when they have been too rigorous in administering justice to them; and the governor and his lieutenants and alcaldes and their judges visit the districts of each city, and the Indians and chiefs come to them freely to recount any small grievance that they might have received. They have knowledge of each particular pertaining to the repairing of the roads and maintaining them and the Royal Inns in which are sold those things necessary for travelers, according to the prices in the book of rates."

"THE CITY OF LOYOLA

The city of Loyola of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship aforementioned, who gave the commission to Captain Hernando de Vega, who visited said city and its districts and visited the following Indians:

First, the encomienda of Anton Sanchez del Castillo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Capaparachu, 345 Indian men and women, of whom 185 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Gomez de Rueda, inhabitant of said city, in the town of Cambuco, 320 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The encomienda of Martin Correa, including the towns of Chamanama and Zanlonama, 460 Indian men and women, of whom 264 are males.

The encomienda of Nuño de Monsalve, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Camilache, 434 Indian men and women, of whom 226 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ferel, inhabitant of said city, absent, including the town of Yanachima, 112 Indian men and women, of which 61 are males. [32]

In the encomienda of Captain Francisco Gonzales Montoya, including the towns of Misacandoro and Cutirimi, 332 Indian men and women, of which 196 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Oviedo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Marizana, 269 Indian men and women, of which 148 are males.

In the encomienda of Doña Ines de Estrada, including the town of Calaqui, 413 Indian men and women, of whom 214 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro Gomez Duarte, including the towns of Changona and Cutirinci (Cutirimi?), 336 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro de Bañuelos, including the towns of Mijanoma and Paima, 229 Indian men and women, of whom 167 are males.

In the encomienda of Jerónimo Ponce, including the town of Ambo, 334 Indian men and women, of whom 212 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando de Orellana, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Namai and Lalanguiche and Tantamora, 316 Indian men and women, of whom 166 are males.

In the encomienda of Gasper de Ortego, including the town of Tanchinama, 328 Indian men and women, of whom 184 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Caballero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Guarindilla, 337 Indian men and women, of whom 192 are males.

In the encomienda of Antonio de Herrera, in the town of Cumbare, 91 Indian men and women, of whom 43 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando Jedeon, including the town of Muchonami, 183 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso Sanchez, including the town of Marraco, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego de Albarreda, including the town of Caronoma, 168 Indian men and women, of whom 85 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Alonso de Fuentes, including the towns of Zambotama and Manguiche, 258 Indian men and women, of whom 149 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ramos de Larangui (from Carangui?) including the town of Changata, 164 Indian men and women, of whom 86 are males.

In the encomienda of Bartolomé Lopez, including the towns of Pomanga and Lacuemache, 366 Indian men and women, of whom 198 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Nuñez, including the town of Misacho, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 147 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cano, absent, including the town of Caxunguima, 112 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Mixalalangui, which is under Governor Don Gaspar, within its territories 400 Indian men and women, of whom 186 are males.

Total 6,616. * * *

This city of Loyola was settled by his lordship Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory) when he began establishing this government. It is a land of hills and valleys, and the natives all dress in wool, because of possessing a great number of llamas in the terri-

tory which have the customary stones (53) in their stomachs. They are a people of equal rights who never were subjects nor do they pay taxes or give tributes. They have chiefs and leaders who lead them as captains in their wars, which they have with one another and kill each other regularly, and thus they establish their settlements in the strongest places, which are now towns formed by the newcomers. They [33] have many drunken feasts and these, as well as the wars among themselves, decimate them. They put herbs of witchcraft in their drinks, with which they kill one another. Gold is taken from all the rivers and more will be found. The Spaniards have discovered exposed mines and veins where gold is now taken out. They do not have in their land anything with which to pay taxes and thus they are taxed by making certain plantations of maiz and roots for the maintenance of their encomenderos and curicamayos, and in every district, according to the number of Indians in it, they give one out of five as he must be a boy of 14 to 25 years of age, who work said mines seven months of the year and the rest they spend on their lands and in their own houses. They do not mill the metal but wash it with troughs for which every year a vesture is given to each Indian. Said mines are about seven leagues distant from said city. They provide them with all necessities. They take out every year in the districts of this city 30 to 35 thousand pesos. It is 42 leagues from the city of Loxa to this city, and 35 from the city of Xaen, and 30 leagues from

"53. These bezoar stones were considered by both the Spaniards and the Indians as having magical properties."

Zamora; and 50 from Santiago, and 18 from Valladolid; this is all broken mountainous country. There are many rivers across the trails and very powerful ones that cannot be forded, and over all of them are bridges of reeds or canes. These Indians do not leave for any trade outside of their native land. They trade among their own towns. There are three clergymen in this city and in its district who preach to them and administer the holy sacrament, 400 pesos of stipened being given to each one. In this land, in order to make their farms, they do not plow the land, but, having cleared an area on the mountainside with axes and burned it over, they sow here the mayz [sic] and roots which they gather three times in fourteen months, because of its being a rainy land, the seasons not being definite, and having many marshes. All the towns have churches and alcaldes and they live in an orderly manner and are intelligent people; and the curicamayos and all are very well treated, because, although in the beginning they made their vestments very short, in order not to hamper them in warfare, now they make them down to their knees. The Spaniards do not mix with them. This city obtains plenty of merchandise from Spain which ordinarily comes from the city of Loxa and which is publicly sold in the city and mines, including cattle and hogs and all necessities."

"THE CITY OF VALLADOLID

The city of Valladolid was settled by the aforementioned lordship when he entered to establish this government in 1556, and by his command his captains returned to rebuild it, it having been depopulated and abandoned by the Spaniards at first because of his absence and occupation in his exploration and because of the hardships and wars with the natives, who are very warlike people and who killed many of the Spaniards.

By command of the aforementioned lordship (so be his glory), the Indians within the territories of said city were visited in 1580, although said city and the rest of this government had been visited other times, although not reduced to towns. Pedro Gomez Duarte visited it and found the following number of Indian men and women.

The encomienda of Captain Garcia de Paredes, absent, including the town of Guambuco, 96 Indian men and women, of whom 64 are males.

The encomienda of a minor of Vasco Martin, dead, including the towns of Yanapinga and Yanzame and Ongomanta, 340 Indian men and women, of whom 250 are males. [34]

The encomienda of Captain Hernado de Vega, absent, including the town of Palanda, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 120 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Navarro, including the towns of Tangoraca and Colalayer (?), 160 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Andres Lopez de Agurto, including the towns of Picuncha and Yaca, 243 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

The encomienda of Juan de Saucedo, including the towns of Tapala, Larinamanta, Callanga, Hongomanta, 263 Indian men and women, of whom 137 are males.

The encomienda of Francisco Magariños, including the towns of Pangora and Gariuba, Colomata, Cananche, 215 Indian men and women, of whom 132 are males.

The encomienda of Alvaro Camacho, including the worns of Zamayoc, Yuminche, and Mohoche, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 100 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Aldrete, including the towns of Licaroma and Yarami, 228 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Ximenez Magariño, including the towns of Zacapo and La Rinconada, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 106 are males.

The encomienda of Diego Alvarez, including the towns of Misalanchi, Posirimi, Quichiparra, Yangonama, 176 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Elvira Montero, including the towns of Yumba and Yambamba, Curpa, and Paco, 178 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

The encomienda of Aldonza Martín, minor, including the towns of Tacanambe and Pacamari, 120 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Culichima, with the others of Captain Juan Navarro, 108 Indian men and women, of whom 50 are males.

Total, 2,975; males, 1,560. * * *

The natives of this city of Valladolid live on slopes and defensible places, because of being warlike people and people of complete equality, and, as they say, they have many times defeated the captains of the Inca who entered to subject them. Their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, and stones and axes and javelins. They do not have chiefs, but the most courageous is chosen as leader, and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs. They formerly clothed themselves with wool from the llamas, although the clothing was very abbreviated; now they travel and are dressed in all good taste. They work their land with plows (tacllas) and the richest ones have the best plantations because some 100 Indian men and 100 Indian women are collected together to plow and they turn back the land to them (the rich ones). They work until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance, and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because after they had sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought about others.

Gold is found in all the rivers and in three of them which are very great, it is found everywhere and the Spaniards have discovered mines and veins in the hills which are worked separately, although, the working of them is very difficult because of the lack of

natives at present, for, in addition to those used up by the drunken feasts that they have, many of the younger Indians having lost their parents have left and gone to the cities of nearby Peru, and since those remaining did not have in their land anything to give as tribute they were taxed in the same manner as the rest by giving to their [35] encomenderos, curicamayos, and making plantations for them. There are two priests in this city and its territory and one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the natives. The encomenderos pay the priest of the natives and they give the priest of the Spaniards 300 pesos out of the royal treasury. They do not breed any kind of stock in this land except cattle. Wheat is raised, although the crops are frequently lost. It is about 5 leagues from the Cordillera and 18 from the city of Loxa."

THE CITY OF SANTA MARIA DE LAS NIEVES

His lordship ordered this city established in order to satisfy those who had not been given an encomienda of Indians in the city of Santiago de Las Montañas, which is on the Marañon River in the direction of the city of Chachapoyas de Moyobamba. Captain Joan Navarro de Beaumonte visited this city by command of the aforementioned lordship in 1580, although it had been visited and examined before. From this visit it appears to have the following number of Indian men and women.

In the towns of Titibupata and Ticanscama, encomienda of Luis Darmas, inhabitant of said city, 369 Indian men and women, of whom 230 are males.

In the town of Bambaro, encomienda of Juan Izquierdo, 297 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the towns of Curagurapa and Cociata, encomienda of Juan Gonsales, 103 Indian men and women, of whom 55 are males.

In the town of Yungagones, encomienda of Juan Diaz, 150 Indian men and women, of whom 83 are males.

In the town of La Cordillera, encomienda of Francisco Bustamente, 341 Indian men and women, of whom 190 are males.

In the town of Chichicasa, encomienda of Pedro Vello, 213 Indian men and women, of whm 117 are males.

In the town of Yauinare, encomienda of Bartolmé Mendez, 223 Indian men and women, of whom 116 are males.

In the town of Zangona, encomienda of Pedro Sanchez, 283 Indian men and women, of whom 125 are males.

In the towns of Yuniangones and Zagazagas, encomienda of Garci Gonzalez, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

In the town of Palenque, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz, 123 Indian men and women, of whom 63 are males.

In the towns of Cangaza and Tugurogones, 240 Indian men and women, of whom 156 are males. It is the encomienda of Juan de Saldaña, inhabitant of said city.

In the town of Chingama, encomienda of Benito Gil, 232 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

In the town of Catarima, encomienda of Doña Francisca Valera, 262 Indian men and women, of whom 153 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 52 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 66 are males. [sic]

Total, 2,427; males, 1,332. * * *

The land and territories of this city of Nieva [sic] is mountainous and of the same temperature and nature as that of Santiago. It developed that gold was not to be found in the territories of this city and therefore cotton clothes were made there by the order and measure that the curicamayos of the other[36] cities gave them, and the encomenderos gave them spinning wheels and cotton and other things necessary for making said clothes. For their work they paid said Indians their vestuaries. In the territories of this city, there is a sierra and range that is all salt. It is situated 30 leagues from the city of Santiago, the Marañon River being in between, and thus the Indians have suffered greatly from the wars made on them by the neighboring Indians on the river below. It is a fertile land, productive of maiz and other roots, which they plant on the mountains. There are two clergymen, one of whom administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians as in the rest of the towns. They are a very settled people, like those of the Santiago. They are all orderly and well behaved. They do not have treaties or contracts with the Spaniards."

" SEVILLA DEL ORO--LOGROÑO

In this government was established the city of Sevilla del Oro in the territory of Macas, which city, because of the few people settled there and also because of the natives not being in servitude and of suitable temperament, has not been visited in order to be divided into towns. It is a mountainous land which adjoins the province of the Quijos, by the royal road with the seat of Riobamba. It is a land where gold is found and taken out, although, because of the Indians not being settled, cuadrillas have not been ordered. The land produces much cotton and much food. There are likewise two clergymen there, of whom one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians, as in the other cities.

The other city which is populated halfway between this city of Sevilla and that of Santiago, is the city of Logroño de los Caballeros. They are a very warlike people and have killed a great number of Spaniards and every day they kill them. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and ravines, all of which in general have gold, and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits they can obtain and which the land promises. They tried to take out gold and with a great deal of difficulty, took out almost 30,000 pesos the first year, which they had to spend in subsistence and necessities, dividing it into lots of five for the neighboring cities, which is the reason they did not give any profits to Your Majesty,

because of not having any other industries in the land but the mines, and thus not having any other profit; and thus there are no military officers or town officers or secretaries there; because first it is necessary to find someone who would like to organize it after the manner of the governments of the other cities. Because of not having anything else to say concerning them, it is unnecessary to enlarge the account more.

In the city of Valladolid, December 1, 1582.

JUAN ALDRETE.

By command of the Governor.

JOAN PIZARRO,

Public Secretary. "

'Thus we find the combined population of the districts of Santiago and Santa Maria de Las Nievas was 12,586, of which number 7,091 were males. The region enumerated under Santiago evidently included the Zamora basin and the upper Santiago River. That of Nieve apparently included the lower Santiago and the Alto Marañon above the Pongo Manseriche. Because of their hostility at the time, [37] no census was taken of the Jivaros occupying the Upano basin. Apparently no record was made of the inhabitants of the Morona and Pastaza. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the figure given represents considerably less than one-half of the total Jivaro population at the time.

In the year 1599 it was said that 20,000 Jivaros joined in the attack against Logroño. (54) There can be little doubt that this figure is exaggerated, but judging from the partial census of Salinas, the Jivaro population in the last quarter of the sixteenth century must have totaled more than 30,000.

It is not easy to obtain an accurate estimate of the complete number of Jivaros at the present time. Delgado gave a census for the Upano basin and the upper Morona of 3,151 Jivaros, of whom 600 were men old enough to fight. Ten years previously this same group was said to have had 2,000 fighting men. (55) At the same time there were said to be 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries. (56)

"54. Velasco, t. III, p. 152.
55. Delgado, p. 413.
56. Colección cartas domínicas. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 357."

In 1907 the Salesians estimated that the Jivaro population in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza was 9,790. It is not clear upon what data this figure is based and it appears likely that it is in excess of the true number occupying this region at the time.

In 1905 Von Hassel gives us the following figures: Aguarunas, 2,000 to 2,500; Antipas, 2,000; Huambisas, 800 to 1,000.

Taking this estimate for the lower Jivaro country, Rivet admits a total population of 20,000, which number, using the proportions of Vacas Galindo, would include 4,000 fighting men.

There can be no doubt that the population has diminished considerably since the time of the conquest. The decrease of population in the Upano during the decade from 1880 to 1890 was more than 50 percent, according to Vacas Galindo.

In the year 1888 there were 172 Jivaros at Capahuari and 83 at Copataza. The next year the combined populations of these two communities was only 100 after a war had taken place. (57)

The present writer has mentioned a similar instance where the Jivaro population of the upper Yaupe and Canga Rivers was almost exterminated between the years 1925 and

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"57. Vacas Galindo 'Nankijukima,' p. 184."

1930 as the result of repeated war raids. This sort of thing has been of regular occurrence throughout the Jivaro territory and has been without doubt an important factor in holding down the population. Smallpox has been an even greater factor in reducing the number of Indians at various [38] times. The combination of disease and warfare would probably have brought about the virtual extinction of the Jivaros had it not been for the fact that women are not habitually killed in war raids. Thus the polygynous customs of the Jivaros tend to keep the birth rate higher than wartime casualties would seem to warrant.

Although the Jivaros are probably the largest tribe inhabiting the Amazon basin, owing to the large extent of their territory they are spread out so thinly that the population is evidently not much more than one to the square mile."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

5: Reyes and Teran--108-109 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161, 177

"Unemployment in the centers of population has brought into the forest a large number of placer miners, many of whom, after a brief period of struggle with the wilderness, have returned with respectable fortunes. These men are the remarkable gold miners who impart an atmosphere of activity and progress to many settlements of the Oriente, even though they frequently bespatter them with blood. The following data may give some idea of the intensity with which this work is being carried on:[109]

Number of men washing gold in the Napo and its tributaries.....	3,500
Number of men washing gold in the Pastaza and its tributaries.....	1,000
Number of men washing gold in the Upano and its tributaries.....	300
Number of men washing gold in the Paute and its tributaries.....	2,500
Number of men washing gold in the Zamora and its tributaries.....	5,200
Number of men washing gold in the San Francisco and other tributaries of the Chinchipe.....	2,000
Number of men washing gold in the placers of the Nabon, Chordeleg, Zaruma, Gualaquiza and the cordillera del Condor.....	3,500
Total.....	18,000 "

5; Reyes and Teran--117-118 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161

"This new geographical aspect of the Ecuadorian Oriente, like those previously studied, lacks concrete and precise data, both with respect to the ethnology and the statistics of the subject. According to the most careful study made up to the present time--that is, to December 31, 1937, the population of the Oriente is calculated as 15,265 inhabitants distributed over an area of 313,836 square kilometers. This gives an average population density of 0.045 per square kilometer; and by provinces the data may be presented thus: [118]

Province	Population	Area	Density
Napo-Pastaza	211,595	229,101 [GCB: square] kilometers	0.05 per hectar
Santiago Zamora	3,670	84,735 " " "	0.04 per hectar (1)

Most, if not all, of the population is found on the outliers of the Andean cordilleras, above the elevation of 400 meters by reason of climatic factors."

"1. 'La distribución geografica de la población del Ecuador'--Estudio del General Paz y Mino. --... Floating population not included."

12: Rivet--352 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

12: Rivet--352[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

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1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

12: Rivet--356-357 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 161

All these tribes are far from having an equal numerical importance, many are composed of only 100 to 200 individuals. In 1890, the Jurumbaini numbered 68 representatives, the Arapicos 82, the Tutumagosas 140, the Guambinimas 132, the Chupiansas 165, the Mendes 144, the Pautes 180, the Yunganzas 90, the [357] Yuquipas 453, the Chihuasas 162, the Huasagas 280, the Huamboyas 500, the Copatasas 83, the Capahuaris 172, the Kangaimes 64, the Mangosisas 56, the Miazales 68. At the same time, there were 3,051 Jíbaros in the basin of the Upano and the upper Morona (1), of which 600 men were old enough to carry arms, that is to say older than 15 years. Ten years before the same tribes were able to send 2,000 men to war.

In 1890, there were 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries (2). If one deducts from this last figure the population of Canelos, Sarayacu and Pacayacu, one finds that the number of converts among the nomadic tribes was 26!

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1. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas," in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 413.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Map 4, page 31.

The Salesians think that there are 9,790 infidels (1) in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza, a figure which appears a little exaggerated. In fact, some experienced missionaries estimate that in all the Jíbaro country there are not more than 10 to 12,000 souls. For my part, on having counted up the figures given by von Hassel (2) for the Aguarunas (2,000 to 2,500), the Muratos (5,000), the Antipas (2,000), the Huambizas (800 to 1,000), I think that one can admit a maximum of about 20,000 inhabitants, of which, according to the proportion of Padre Vacas Galindo, there would be about 4,000 adults able to carry arms (3). But in 1599, according to ancient historians, there was an army of 20,000 rebels who assailed Logroño (4), and Osculati (5) estimates the Jíbaro population at a half million. To be sure it is necessary to take into account the exaggerations of the chroniclers, and the error in estimation of the Italian explorer is so manifest that there is no need for pointing it out, nevertheless it is none the less true

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1. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May 1907.
2. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 34, 40 and 46.
3. Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. Religión, usos y costumbres de los Salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador. Ambato, 1897, page 183.
4. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 154.
5. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 29.

that the number of savages has diminished in an unheard-of manner since the first times of the Spanish conquest. This diminution continues in our time. I have already cited the example of the tribes in the basin of the Upano. Pointing out another: in 1888, the Jíbaros of Capahuari numbered 172 individuals, and those of Copataza 83, being in all 255 Jíbaros. The following year, at the end of an [358] internal war, there remained at most 100 (6). The constant hostilities between tribes, the contagious diseases, smallpox in particular, brought by the Spanish, and alcoholism explained this strange disappearance to a great extent; but as these conditions are found together in many sections of the world, where the natives of the country continue to multiply nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that the fatal law, which brings death to the Indian everywhere that one finds him in contact with the Whites, must have other deeper causes that we do not know. As for the Jíbaro, it is very difficult to invoke the law of selection, for, as we shall see, he is, from all points of view, endowed with qualities which would seem to reserve for him a better fate and a brighter future among the indigenous American peoples.

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6. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 184.

25: Vigna--35 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 161

The present civilized population is somewhere between ten and twelve thousand inhabitants. The majority are settlers of crossed race of Andean origin. The number of Jíbaro Indians is estimated between fifteen and twenty thousand. It is difficult to count the savages, who, fundamentally, are nomads. They do not establish towns or villages, but live in the heart of the virgin forest, separated from one another many times, by long days of journey. They are still reticent about furnishing the information necessary to an exact formulation of their political structure.

28: Tessman--343 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 161

Karsten, in his Blood Revenge, p. 1 estimates that there are 15-20,000 Chiwaros. This is too high a figure simply because Karsten has erroneously included the Kandoschis. I believe that there are at the most 10-12, 000 Chiwaros.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions, the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance: and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

14 Harner E-6, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

194 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jívaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6], the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa, the Aguaruna, and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri huarä*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simply as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jívaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*huarä*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jívaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to *any* Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apatï*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri huarä*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*achuarä huarä*) to the east. An alternative term, *muraiya huarä* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*mayna huarä*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*mashar huarä*" or "*yashita huarä*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call them the "*pasuka kiwa*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

128

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956-57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
• 161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows most of the region except for the southern extension along and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level. There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 648 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up [781] [101] [161] the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 648 72 669 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost [619] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 648 797 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

101 648 797

14 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jivaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth century among these people. Informants claim that in some
[161] cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the elderly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier
[123] to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

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Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

When I die
You will look for young ones.
But while I live
Put more love
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

The interior Jivaro are scattered in some 145 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguaza south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pastaza (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jivaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in house-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jivaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the mouth of the Río Cangaimi, a small stream (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

14 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have recently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jivaro.

An additional new development occurred in the lives of the Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not. Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,850 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jivaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jivaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jivaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jivaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nuñuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [776]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jivaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 •

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those 114

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114
161
361

reported by Danielsson (1949, p. 88) whose Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yurupaza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yurupaza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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2. Murdock, 1949, p. 60.

3. In the Jívaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[104]

[178]

4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1910, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigü* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kumpa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

[171]

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Sollmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.

3. Castaneda, 1968; and Harner, 1973.